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ABSTRACT

This document summarizes the Wingspread Conference on Women's Higher Education, 1972. Topics of conference papers and discussion concerned changes in women's education and changes needed for the future, four types of women students-undergraduate, graduate and adult women undergraduates perceptions of needs for the future, higher education and feminine socialization, plans for widening women's education opportunities, and the special needs of working class women. A questionnaire evaluation of the conference indicated that the conference may have achieved its goals to stimulate greater concern with planned interaction between practice and research and to lend at least mild support to those engaged in various specific types of enterprises. A list of participants and the evaluation questions are supplied. (MJM)

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women's higher education: some unanswered questions

REPORT OF A WINGSPREAD CONFERENCE

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REPORT OF A WINGSPREAD CONFERENCE

THE JOHNSON FOUNDATION

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WINGSPREAD CONFERENCE ON

WOMEN'S HIGHER EDUCATION: SOME UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

convened by
NATIONAL COALITION FOR RESEARCH
ON WOMEN'S EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT
in cooperation with
THE JOHNSON FOUNDATION
March 1972

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Many aspects of the higher education of women have become ardently debated issues in recent years. The Wingspread conference considered some of these issues from two points of view: that of the educator concerned with what might be done to improve programs and practices, and that of the research scholar concerned with learning more about the psychological and sociological forces which interact in the process of women's education. Conference discussions revealed points at which the concerns of educators and researchers intersect, and also showed why more constant interchange and closer cooperation between practitioners and researchers should be encouraged and supported. Above all, the conference discussion demonstrated that we still have much to learn about educating women for the lives that they will lead in the next 50 years.

Report prepared by:
ESTHER M. WESTERVELT

INTRODUCTION

The Johnson Foundation's program role in helping to advance women's higher education begins with an interest in the rights of the individual. The Foundation's Statement of Purpose affirms as a main concern, " . . . the individual and the development of his highest powers of mind and spirit." It is from this human rights base that we express our interest in freeing the mind and spirit, rather than imprisoning these attributes by custom.

Consistent with this commitment, for more than a decade the Foundation has initiated and supported programs to increase opportunities for women. The goal of these efforts is greater fulfillment for women through versatile participation in society.

The University of Wisconsin and The Johnson Foundation convened in 1963 a Wingspread meeting on "Women in College and University Teaching - Staff Needs and Opportunities in Higher Education." This first meeting was programmed for women who might undertake graduate work for teaching positions in higher education. Later on, meetings were held for college undergraduates, and also for young women of secondary school age.

The Radcliffe Institute, convening a conference on "Women's Resources for a Changing World," was assisted by The Johnson Foundation in 1972. This conference honored Mary Bunting, President of Radcliffe College, for her leadership in seeking educational opportunities for women.

Militant efforts associated with equality for women have their place in a dynamic society. These activities are thriving in the United States at present, and gain the headlines. As a balance, in response to educational leaders, The Johnson Foundation since 1969 has cooperated with the National Coalition for Research on Women's Education and Development. Grants for early-stage administration have helped the Coalition become established. The Wingspread Conference Center (Racine, Wisconsin) is a place where the Coalition's Board of Trustees and Advisory Council have hammered out policy. The Foundation is proud of this affiliation. There seems no doubt that the thoughtful work which these individuals are doing wi advance in educational opportunities for wo

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President
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This publication, "Women's Higher Education: Some Unanswered Questions," reports on a Wingspread conference convened in March, 1972 in cooperation with the National Coalition.

In the years ahead The Johnson Foundation will continue to seek ways in which it can use a share of its resources to insure meaningful careers for women.

Leslie Paffrath
President
The Johnson Foundation

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF CONFERENCE SPEAKERS AND AUTHORS OF CONFERENCE PAPERS.

ELIZABETH DOUVAN

Dr. Douvan received her Ph.D degree in Social Psychology from The University of Michigan. She is currently Professor of Psychology at The University of Michigan. She teaches both undergraduates and graduates in Social Psychology and Personality Development and conducts seminars in Feminine Personality Development. She is working on a study of women returning to college after the age of 30. Her articles and books in the social sciences cover diverse topics from architecture and adolescent development to feminine personality and conflict.

JOHN H. GAGNON

Dr. Gagnon earned the Ph.D degree in Sociology from the University of Chicago. He serves as Professor in The Department of Sociology and Dean of The Center for Continuing Education at The State University of New York at Stony Brook. He is Contributing Editor to *Change Magazine*, Associate Editor of *Teaching Sociology*, and Associate Editor of *Social Problems*. He has contributed to educational television through teaching a course on "Crime and the Community" and conducting a series on the problems of imprisonment. In his numerous articles and books, special attention is directed to many kinds of behavioral problems.

JOSEPH KATZ

Dr. Katz holds his Ph.D degree from Columbia University in the field of Philosophy. His present position is Director of Research for Human Development and Educational Policy and Professor of Human Development, State University of New York at Stony Brook. Prior to this position he served as Executive Director, Institute for the Study of Human Problems, Stanford University. He has been a Research Director in the Study of Coeducational Living, Study of Adult Women, Student Occupational Development, and Student Development. In his publications Dr. Katz has paid special attention to and won acclaim in areas related to student development.

ELIZABETH DUNCAN KOONTZ

Dr. Koontz holds a master's degree in ele
from Atlanta University and has done
Columbia University and Indiana Universi
received training in the field of special
mentally retarded at North Carolina Colleg
ent of several honorary doctoral degrees
president of the National Education Asso
She served as a member of the President'
on Education of Disadvantaged Children
Carolina Governor's Commission on the S
February, 1969 she became the first Negr
the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of L
been appointed U.S. Delegate to the Un
mission on the Status of Women.

BERNICE SANDLER

Dr. Sandler holds a Ph.D degree in Counse
Services from the University of Maryland.
Executive Associate with the Association of
where she is Director of a Project on the St
of Women. Prior to this position she s
Director of the Women's Action Program a
HEW. She worked as an Education Spec
House of Representatives Special Subcomm
She was the first person ever appointed
Congressional committee to work specific
women's rights. As former Chairman of the
for Federal Contract Compliance of the Wo
League, she planned the strategy and spear
campaign to get existing Executive Orders e
to sex discrimination by colleges and un
federal contracts.

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ELIZABETH DUNCAN KOONTZ

Dr. Koontz holds a master's degree in elementary education from Atlanta University and has done graduate work at Columbia University and Indiana University. In addition she received training in the field of special education for the mentally retarded at North Carolina College. She is the recipient of several honorary doctoral degrees. Mrs. Koontz was president of the National Education Association in 1968-69. She served as a member of the President's Advisory Council on Education of Disadvantaged Children and on the North Carolina Governor's Commission on the Status of Women. In February, 1969 she became the first Negro to be Director of the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor. She has also been appointed U.S. Delegate to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women.

BERNICE SANDLER

Dr. Sandler holds a Ph.D degree in Counseling and Personnel Services from the University of Maryland. She is currently an Executive Associate with the Association of American Colleges where she is Director of a Project on the Status and Education of Women. Prior to this position she served as Assistant Director of the Women's Action Program at the Department of HEW. She worked as an Education Specialist for the U.S. House of Representatives Special Subcommittee on Education. She was the first person ever appointed to the staff of a Congressional committee to work specifically in the area of women's rights. As former Chairman of the Action Committee for Federal Contract Compliance of the Women's Equity Action League, she planned the strategy and spearheaded the national campaign to get existing Executive Orders enforced with regard to sex discrimination by colleges and universities that hold federal contracts.

ANNE FIROR SCOTT

Dr. Scott holds a Ph.D degree from Radcliffe College in the field of History. She is presently a Professor of History at Duke University. She served as Chairman, North Carolina Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, 1964 and she was a member of the President's Advisory Council on the Status of Women (appointed by President Johnson, 1965). She is Chairman, Committee on the Status of Women of the Organization of American Historians. In her books and articles, she addresses herself to Women in American Life and issues related to Southern Women.

ESTHER M. WESTERVELT

Dr. Westervelt holds an Ed.D degree from Columbia University in the field of Guidance and Student Personnel Administration. She served as Adjunct Associate Professor at Teachers College, Columbia University where she taught courses in guidance and student personnel administration. In 1966 she became Director of the New York State Guidance Center for Women, a State University pilot project. She conducted research on associations among the clients' attitudes, aspirations, and selected psychological and social characteristics. Her research and writings are concerned with women's roles, the development of sex differences, counseling girls and women, and utilization of anthropological theory and research in guidance and student personnel administration.

Conference Chairperson: Esther M. Westervelt

WOMEN'S HIGHER EDUCATION: SOME UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

The Wingspread Conference on WOMEN'S HIGHER EDUCATION: SOME UNANSWERED QUESTIONS was convened by the National Coalition for Research on Women's Education and Development, in cooperation with The Johnson Foundation. Many aspects of the higher education of women are lively issues today. The sheer multitude and variety of prescriptions for needed action are sufficient evidence of the need for careful and extensive study in the field. Educators and others concerned with the improvement of programs and practices in women's higher education are faced with a host of unanswered questions. The same concern motivates scholars to learn more about the forces - psychological and sociological - which interact in the process of women's education.

The major purpose of the Wingspread Conference was to emphasize the need for knowledge on which effective action can be based. The intent was to reveal a few points at which the concerns of educators and researchers intersect; to encourage consideration of the need for constant interchange and cooperation between practitioners and researchers.

A one-day conference could do no more than provoke discussion pertinent to its objectives. Conference papers were drawn from a gamut of topics rather than focused on a narrow theme. Two of the papers were from leaders in program development in women's education; two were from research scholars concerned with quite different sets of factors pertinent to women's higher education. Three short papers were from the consumers of that education - from a graduate student, an undergraduate student, and two adult women students.

The Wingspread conference planners had assumed that a one-day conference would attract mainly those within a relatively short distance from Racine, Wisconsin. A dramatic indication of the high level of interest in the status of women in higher education was a response far different from that envisaged by the planners. Participants came from all over the United States; some represented institutions and organizations from all the major regions of the country. Others came concerned persons, traveling at their own an anticipated seminar of approximately totalled almost 160. Leslie Paffrath, Presid Foundation, reported in his welcoming r sponse was without precedent in The Jo decade of experience with invitational c heavy March snowstorm kept very few though it did prevent some from leaving th safely preface the conference report with the conference topic is an area of conce priority in America today.

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In his welcome to the participants, Leslie "From the start we have assumed that all t to the conference are interested not in fa but in its character. We have also assum come to contribute to the theatricals of a further conditions for full membership righ all purposes." These assumptions proved highly probable that almost every shade women's educational needs in our society, left, was represented at the conference. T times differing commitments of those who discussions were met with respect on all s

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It was the hope of those who planned the Wingspread conference that the day would be devoted primarily to discussion stimulated by the papers which were commissioned for the conference. These papers were distributed to participants in advance of the conference. Speakers were asked merely to reiterate their main points at the conference, then to engage freely in discussion with the conference group. Participation in discussion was actively encouraged and the response was lively.

In his welcome to the participants, Leslie Paffrath remarked, "From the start we have assumed that all those who did come to the conference are interested not in fashions of education but in its character. We have also assumed that none would come to contribute to the theatricals of a movement, but to further conditions for full membership rights in our society for all purposes." These assumptions proved to be sound. It is highly probable that almost every shade of conviction about women's educational needs in our society, from far right to far left, was represented at the conference. The firm and sometimes differing commitments of those who contributed to the discussions were met with respect on all sides.

Leslie Paffrath also commented, "We have seen conferences of this calibre become the seed bed of ideas which have led to programs. That is the goal today. Conferences consist basically of thought symbols, even though we call them words. Our interest is in watching these symbols become works. In the hours of listening and thinking today, we hope that the domi-

nant thought with each participant will be ways in which all of the experience can apply to the lives of individuals toward change."

It is unlikely that those who sponsored the conference will ever know to what extent this goal may be realized. We do know, from the responses to the evaluations which were sent out after the conference, that ideas were exchanged there, and that some participants shared these ideas with others at their home institutions. If any of these ideas lead to improvement in programs on even a few campuses, this will be a worthwhile outcome.

CONFERENCE PAPERS AND DISCUSSIONS

Anne Firor Scott, then President of the National Coalition for Research on Women's Education and Development, and Professor of History at Duke University, opened the conference. She remarked that its emphasis on "unanswered questions" arose from the Coalition's commitment to "an effort to find out what we know and find answers to what we don't know" about the higher education of women. She explained that the Coalition was a network of educational institutions which was organized to encourage and facilitate research which would broaden and deepen our understanding of the relationship between women's education and their development. She emphasized the inevitability of change in human affairs and social relationships and pointed out that in America change is, in fact, an integral characteristic of the society.

WOMEN AND HIGHER EDUCATION: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? (Action)

Change was the first topic on the conference agenda - what changes, if any, have occurred in women's education and what are needed? Bernice Sandler, Executive Associate with the Project on the Status and Education of Women of the Association of American Colleges, discussed "Women and Higher Education: Where Do We Go From Here?" Bernice Sandler called sex discrimination "the last socially acceptable form of discrimination" and stated that it was ra
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nation "the last socially acceptable form of discrimination" and stated that it was rampant in Academia. She pointed out that women faculty, women staff members, and women students are continually confronted with sex bias which limits their opportunities for choice and for advancement. This bias causes women in institutions of higher education to be far more apt to occupy the student's desk than the professor's chair; it lowers women's aspirations between the time they are freshmen and the time they graduate; it makes it difficult for them to continue on to graduate school. It makes it harder for women to obtain needed financial aid or assistantships for graduate school; it imposes demands for time commitments and residency which many married women students cannot meet.

But, Bernice Sandler reported, throughout the nation women have begun to scrutinize their status as faculty, staff and students. Their examination encompasses the entire structure of the university as well as the effect of current policies and practices upon women's opportunities in the academic world. Women have become aware that, as a percentage of graduate students, they represent a smaller portion of the total than they did in 1930 and that the proportion of undergraduate degrees which they attain is lower than it was a quarter of a century ago. They note that women with qualifications identical to their male counterparts are less frequently hired for faculty or staff positions, particularly at the more prestigious institutions, and if hired, they are promoted more slowly, and receive less pay than men for the same work. Often women are not even given the courtesy of an initial interview for a position because the prospective employer is "looking for a man." Women applicants for admission to coeducational undergraduate schools must often face a ceiling on the number of women to be admitted; since women's academic qualifications are apt to be higher than those of men, this means that some men who are admitted are in fact less well qualified than some women who are excluded.

To date women have had little legislative support for their drive for equality in higher education. Their only remedy has been the Executive Order which forbids federal contractors from discriminating in employment; at best, this is a very mild administrative remedy. New legislative remedies will soon

be forthcoming,* however, including the revision of the Civil Rights Act which will extend its regulations to educational institutions. Bernice Sandler predicted that women will be quick to take advantage of these new remedies.

What will women seek when new avenues to attainment are open? Bernice Sandler believes that they will seek nothing less than the full integration of women at all levels and into all activities on the campus. She believes that women faculty will seek adequate grievance procedures in cases of suspected sex discrimination, revision of tenure and nepotism rules which work against the advancement and employment of women, maternity leave policies which will not interfere with a woman's persistence and advancement in employment, the development of child care centers, equality with men in fringe benefits, equal pay for equal work, and the appointment of women at all levels of academic responsibility, most particularly to positions of power and influence.

For students, women will seek full equality in admissions practices in all coeducational institutions. In other words, they will work for the abolition of sex quotas for admission. They will also work for the abolition of residential rules which place special restrictions on women. They will seek health services comparable to those available to men; this means that they will expect to have gynecological services included in the health service program. They will seek to eliminate policies which exclude part-time undergraduate and graduate students from full educational opportunities, including residential requirements, restriction of scholarships and other financial aids to full-time students, and obstacles to the easy transfer of undergraduate or graduate credit from one institution to another. They will press for child care services and for greater flexibility in programs needed by part-time women students.

Both faculty and students will work for curriculum innovations designed to destroy sex role stereotypes, to provide opportunities for women to confront themselves as women in order to be better equipped to deal with the conflicts and contradictions

*Shortly after the Conference, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act was extended to all educational institutions; the Equal Pay Act was extended to cover faculty, and Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972 was passed to forbid discrimination on the basis of sex against students in all federally assisted education programs.

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in their lives, and to gain an objective and intelligent perspective on their historical heritage. Women's studies will, Bernice Sandler predicted, gain a significant place in undergraduate and graduate curricula.

Bernice Sandler concluded with a plea for compassion toward men and women alike, for both have been exposed to past experiences which have been hurtful and debilitating to the relationship between the sexes in a society like ours where changes in sex roles are mandated by both social and economic factors. She noted that individual attitudes and assumptions about what women want, what women are really like, and what women need will change slowly and with difficulty. As women's traditional roles disappear and sex equality of opportunity increases, men and women must work together in full partnership to meet these changes.

WHAT STUDENTS WANT FOR THE FUTURE

(1) An Undergraduate

Bernice Sandler was followed by a panel of four students who brought to the discussion the perspectives of four different types of consumers of women's higher education. The first to speak was Phyllis Ann Tesch, an undergraduate at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. She entitled her paper "The Phantom Image." She emphasized that the undergraduate woman is the target of conflicting pressures: she seeks achievement and she seeks fulfillment as a woman. "The system," she said, "imposes male oriented courses and goals on all participants. The successful person . . . is creative, innovative, aggressive, and willing to compete. All these traits are considered 'masculine'; therefore, to be successful in this male world, one must be 'masculine,' ergo, 'unfeminine.'

"This institutes the crisis for me. I am a woman. I have been socialized to want to be desirable to men, to be 'feminine.' Yet to be successful in my chosen field and in school I must exhibit 'masculine' traits. It is confusing and disrupting to me. Am I denying my womanhood by exhibiting traits termed 'masculine'? Is there something wrong with me or with the method of classifying personality traits by sexual adjectives? I would

say that the method of classification is wrong. But look at the success symbols that I see - they are all male."

Phyllis Ann Tesch believed that women students need more female role models. But these models "must be real people - the 'superwomen' do no one any good . . . They must show by example that a person can be a success without being less of a woman."

She asked that her seniors at the conference give her and her sisters three things: "a past, through women's studies; a present through female success images; and hope for the future."

(2) A graduate student:
Phyllis Ann Tesch was followed by Jane Van Dyk whose topic was "Graduate Women: Investigating the Question of the Drop-Out Rate." Jane Van Dyk contended that the attrition rate for women in graduate education is directly attributable to masculine attitudes toward the nature of "femininity" and the proper role of women. She supported statistical analysis of trends in graduat financial aid as well as with statements dents in response to a questionnaire.

Although women comprised slightly m undergraduate enrollment at the Unive Madison in 1971-72, they comprised s of the graduate students. Furthermore, prised 36% of the first-year masters stu only slightly more than 19% of the secon A breakdown by department of graduate the College of Letters and Sciences (the University) showed the trend for women students to decline sharply between the level in all but a handful of departments

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Although women comprised slightly more than 43% of the undergraduate enrollment at the University of Wisconsin at Madison in 1971-72, they comprised slightly less than 27% of the graduate students. Furthermore, although women comprised 36% of the first-year masters students, they comprised only slightly more than 19% of the second-year Ph.D. students. A breakdown by department of graduate student enrollment in the College of Letters and Sciences (the largest College in the University) showed the trend for women as a percentage of all students to decline sharply between the masters and doctoral level in all but a handful of departments.

The research team then considered the possible relationship of financial aid to the attrition of women. Employment by the University as teaching assistants, research assistants, project assistants, and so on is the most usual and stable form of financial aid available. Of these, the category of research assistant is the largest; women made up only 14% of that category. In the other categories women were represented in proportion to their representation in the student body as a whole. But the underrepresentation in the category of research assistant is critical since, as Jane Van Dyk pointed out, "such a position, involving work directly with faculty on funded studies deemed important by the faculty, is probably the most important from the standpoint of professional orientation. It has a clear bearing on the speed of progress of the student, the whole socialization progress of the student, and the values inculcated in a graduate education." Thus, Jane Van Dyk suggested, the underemployment of women as research assistants may be a contributing factor to the attrition of graduate women.

The research team felt, however, that other factors must also be involved, and in an attempt to identify these sent a questionnaire to all women graduate students, asking them to comment on any areas of discrimination they had experienced and on other reasons which would cause women to drop out of a graduate program. The Graduate Women's Caucus (the group which

initiated the survey) discovered that the most frequent complaint was that graduate women are not taken seriously as students. Many professors obviously assume that a woman's career will take second place to marriage and also assume that "in order to be 'fulfilled' a woman must follow her 'natural instincts' and become a wife and mother." Jane Van Dyk quoted that, "this basic assumption that women aren't serious about careers - or even shouldn't be - is at the root of all the other problems which plague graduate women." Furthermore, there was ample evidence of pressure upon women to prove themselves more serious as students than the average man, since women are considered frivolous until they prove themselves serious, while with men the assumption is reversed. Jane Van Dyk cited numerous examples of the effect of this on women students. She told of a woman whose advisor would not recommend her to go on for a Ph.D. because "she was the sort of woman who would get married and not use her education and . . . this indicated that in his estimation she did not have sufficient professional motivation." This professor had spoken to this woman only twice, had seen none of her work and had only her excellent record and recommendations from undergraduate work upon which to base his judgement.

Responses to the survey also indicated that women are not only *not encouraged* to pursue their studies because professors assume that their first commitments should be to home and family but they are also actively *discouraged* by professors who assume that women are simply incapable of doing the same level of work as men. For example, one woman in an all male department reported that professors make fun of serious questions she asks in class with comments such as, "Stay in your box," and "What was the question, dearie?" Professors are also prone to make oblique references to women's inferior status; for instance, references to "dumb secretaries" and to "fun with booze and broads."

Older women graduate students suffer an additional disadvantage - that of age. Faculty may perceive them as too old to be serious students. A 43-year-old divorcee with three children stated, "When I considered going on for a graduate degree, my advisor informed me that my *age* and *sex* were against me. He said I would have to have a much better grade point average than a male 15 years younger than I. Be
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Other factors mentioned in the survey responses were lack of female role models on the faculty, lack of faculty interest in finding employment for women graduate students, and lack of adequate financial aid. Ms. Van Dyk concluded that "the belief by some professors that women will drop out before completing an advanced degree becomes in some respects a self-fulfilling prophecy. Professors . . . do not bother to encourage women to continue and even actively discourage (them) . . . Without adequate encouragement, support, counseling, financial aid, and female role models, many women do indeed become disillusioned with graduate school and may consider the possibility of dropping out. Thus a vicious cycle is created."

(3) Two adult women undergraduates:
The last students to speak were two mature women undergraduates: Abbie Delores Davis, black, widowed mother of eleven children, resident of inner-city Milwaukee, and Sylvia Murn, mother of four children aged 12 to 18, living with her husband and a resident of a Milwaukee suburb. Both women had extensive experience in activities outside the home before enrolling as students at Alverno College. Abbie Davis' employment included three years at Milwaukee Lutheran Hospital, three years as a group leader for the Salvation Army neighborhood center, coordinator of a project to create jobs for young parolees, and director of a teacher aide program. As a volunteer she had been a P.T.A. president, had organized concerned parents of a black state university, worked with Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, with the March of Dimes and the Heart Fund, with the Boys Club Drum and Bugle Corps, was a member of ESEA Title I Advisory Council to the Milwaukee Public Schools, and was the first black woman to serve on the Board of Directors of Milwaukee Legal Aid Society. At present Abbie Davis is Ombudswoman and Academic Advisor at Alverno College, Vice President of Milwaukee's Hunger Hike, and Chairwoman

of the Board of Directors for Harambee Inc., which operates two halfway houses for parolees. Sylvia Murn had extensive experience as a volunteer with the Christian Family Movement, the United Fund, the Girl Scouts, and the YWCA, among other organizations.

The obstacles encountered by the older woman graduate student, pointed out by Jane Van Dyk, were also perceived as obstacles for the older woman undergraduate student by Abbie Davis and Sylvia Murn. Lack of financial aid, lack of child care services, lack of psychological and social support in the management of academic and family responsibilities, lack of recognition of the capabilities which the older woman has acquired through experience - all these handicap her in her pursuit of higher education. Abbie Davis and Sylvia Murn both believed that institutions of higher education have an obligation to petition state and federal governments for more financial aid for part-time students; to develop or cooperate in the development of child care services; and to develop means to assist the mature, part-time woman student to maintain the healthy self-concept upon which both her motivation to continue and her success in the program depend. For this type of student, they said, "not only does the management of time become an absolute necessity, but the management of priorities demands adjustments of how her time is used. The adult student's own attitudes about herself and her rights as a human being are often challenged by the attitudes of others who want to directly or indirectly say what her rights and duties are or should be. Maintaining a healthy self-concept and avoiding guilt in these situations is extremely difficult."

Abbie Davis and Sylvia Murn made certain specific recommendations. Mature women, they noted, "need counseling because society makes them feel guilty about returning to school if they have a family." They felt also that rap sessions for mature women students could be extremely beneficial in that they could help such women "develop self-concepts and a realistic level of self-confidence by interacting with other adult continuing education women." They pointed out that mothers who go back to school are sometimes victimized by children who may even feign illness or run away to make the mother stay at home. They suggested that mothers should be permitted to bring their children to visit the college i might better understand what the mother urban wives, Sylvia Murn noted, are ofte bands, family and friends and neighbor school and regarded as merely following time. Therefore, such women do not ge family responsibilities which they need sir as not engaged in a serious pursuit.

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In closing, Abbie Davis and Sylvia Murn older woman who returns to school afte absence from the educational process m conform to the learning program. She h periences during the years of her absence needs help to make these experiences u situation. She needs assistance in learn experience, and thereby add to her sel coming to understand that too much per perience can fragment it and destroy its for further learning.

Discussion:

The major theme of the discussion whic sentations was how to achieve equalit women as a group and for individual wo remarked that the achievement of equa group required organization, legislation,

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Abbie Davis noted that wives of blue collar workers, both black and white, "threatened the status and male dominance of their husbands by getting a higher education . . . their husbands feel threatened." In her view, such women could handle this problem only by ignoring the husband, bargaining, or dropping out. Black women face a unique set of problems, which include aggressive husbands, difficulty in defining their roles as workers, mothers, and students; and the psychological effects of oppression and deprivation which undermine motivation and aspiration. Abbie Davis also believed that black college educated women face difficulty in finding a husband of comparable education since, she feels, black males tend to marry white women when they have a degree or have become relatively affluent.

In closing, Abbie Davis and Sylvia Murn pointed out that the older woman who returns to school after a number of years' absence from the educational process may find it difficult to conform to the learning program. She has had valuable experiences during the years of her absence from school but she needs help to make these experiences useful in the learning situation. She needs assistance in learning to abstract from experience, and thereby add to her self-confidence, and in coming to understand that too much personalizing of her experience can fragment it and destroy its value as a foundation for further learning.

Discussion:
The major theme of the discussion which followed these presentations was how to achieve equality of opportunity for women as a group and for individual women. Bernice Sandler remarked that the achievement of equality for women as a group required organization, legislation, and pressure. It was

her opinion that on any given campus there should be at least two groups dedicated to raising the status of women; one would be officially appointed by the president (e.g., an affirmative action committee) and the other would be an *ad hoc* organization whose primary function would be the application of pressure. She felt that all groups concerned with women's status should carefully monitor progress, keep informed about relevant legislation, not hesitate to use such legislation to induce desired changes, and press for new legislation, if needed, through contacts with congressmen and the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare. She stressed that no change occurs without pressure. In response to a question regarding whether pressure groups are increasing in number on campuses, she said "very much so, particularly in those universities with federal contracts. There is now a critical mass of women working together." She also noted that both young radicals and older women are involved in exerting pressure.

In response to questions concerning the difficulties encountered by individual women who seek equality of opportunity, Bernice Sandler stated that such women have four choices: (1) leave a job they do not like or on which they are treated unfairly; (2) become apathetic - give up; (3) burn down, destroy, and build anew through radical action; (4) take the route of the "nitty-gritty" - build piece by piece, inch by inch, for gradual erosion of the opposition. She said that she advocates the fourth option.

Philip Rice, Dean of the Claremont University Graduate School, commented that one source of inequality for women in the academic world was that they tended to be overrepresented in positions where the pay is not proportionate to the amount of responsibility inherent in the position. He emphasized that we need a reconceptualization of jobs so that the work which women actually do is recognized both in terms of status and in terms of pay. Several speakers brought up the special problem of the black woman and Bernice Sandler noted that policies to improve higher educational opportunities for blacks tend to help black males while policies designed to assist women help white women. This tends to heighten the barriers between black women and higher education. On the other hand, black women, especially those from
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HIGHER EDUCATION AND FEMININE SO
(Research)

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Other questions concerned the special problem of the married student, the graduate lesbian student, the difficulties of combining marriage and a career, and the older student. Jane Van Dyk pointed out that only general problems could be dealt with in a brief conference like this one. The central need is to increase awareness of discrimination on the part of all who practice it and all who are affected by it. This requires a variety of strategies and talents, as Bernice Sandler had earlier pointed out. Organizations need a solid base and clear goals. Joan Roberts of the University of Wisconsin cited the Wisconsin Coordinating Council of Women in Higher Education as an example of such an organization; it represents women on all 14 campuses of the University of Wisconsin and cooperates with women from all 14 four-year private institutions in the state. It was organized through the efforts of the Association of Faculty Women at the University of Wisconsin at Madison.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND FEMININE SOCIALIZATION
(Research)

The opening panel considered the situation of women in higher education from the perspective of those actively involved in programs as producers or as consumers; the emphasis was on discrimination against women and on the political action needed to eliminate it. With Elizabeth Douvan's paper on "Higher Education and Feminine Socialization" the perspective shifted to that of the research scholar whose primary concern is understanding rather than action. Elizabeth Douvan pointed out that "although we have been deluged with lists of the problems and injustices inherent in women's condition, we have not come very far on the way to understanding the nature of feminine development and the unique qualities of the feminine experience." She expressed fear that "the blinders of ideology will be substituted for the clarifying lens of understanding."

Elizabeth Douvan remarks were based on two explicit assumptions: (1) women are different from men and that difference is grounded in physiology; (2) sex differences that depend wholly on learning may be as difficult to change or eliminate as those grounded in physiology. Two further assumptions are implicit in these: (1) ideologies (other than the feminist) have not influenced our understanding of the physiology and psychology of women; and (2) the changes in women's roles which have already occurred in our society (e.g., the nature of women's economic responsibilities and the growing instability of marriage) will not markedly influence *learned* sex differences.

Elizabeth Douvan first summarized some material on sex differences and then looked at the content and structure of higher education to see in what ways the academic role is peculiarly suited to feminine style and in what ways that role provides more potential conflicts for women then for men. In general, she noted, girls do better than boys at academic tasks from elementary school through graduate school. However, boys, because they are more assertive, are better at "imposing internal structure on a complex external field." Girls are not as "competitive and assertive (as boys) but they take their work seriously, learn well, integrate and create and continue to get a disproportionate share of high grades." This is due to the fact that girls have certain qualities which "serve them well in the academic world." Among these are intraceptiveness (the tendency to look inward), a quality which "is basic to all existing conceptions of the sources of creativity"; passivity, which is closely allied to intraceptiveness, in that it involves the capacity to be quietly receptive to experience (women's domestic roles require a great deal of passivity, of waiting for other family members in order to serve their needs); investment in fantasy which is the content side of the intraceptive process in which women "develop a scenario to account for, expand, and develop interpersonal and psychological reality (while men tend to create an internal map to schematize and guide their responses to external reality); empathy which is in part an outcome of the investment in fantasy since it involves imagining one's self in the place of another. Elizabeth Douvan noted that some of these qualities are "mixed blessings." Passivity interferes with girls' motivation to compete. Investment in fantas
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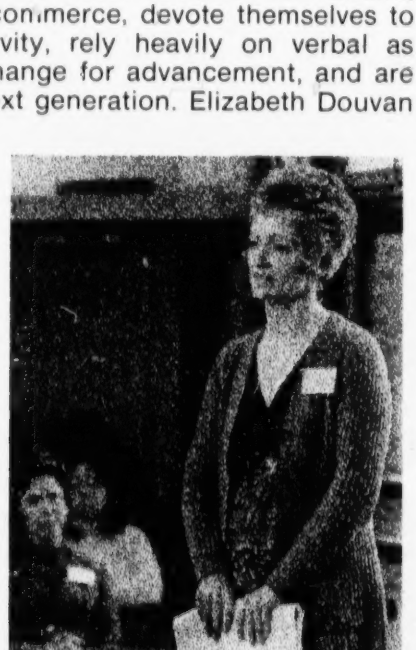
tion to compete. Investment in fantasy can interfere with a woman's ability to comprehend or develop the complex systems of abstractions which we call theories; on the other hand it endows women with the "capacity for filling in the story line that can account for a sequence of events" - a capacity which can be extremely valuable in such fields as psychology and history.

Empathy, although a clear asset in many fields of scholarship and practice (e.g., anthropology and psychiatry), is a product of what Elizabeth Douvan described as a sociological marginalism of women. "To the extent that a person lives on the margin between two different cultures or classes or life styles," she said, "the conditions of his experience will require - and tend to refine - a capacity for interpreting disparate experience through the intraceptive use of one's own feelings." Females in western culture are marginal in many senses: "in their traditional family roles, women act as interpreters and negotiators between the family and the larger society, they act as diplomats and go-betweens between the world of the children and the world of the father. Women are marginal in the pure economic sense when and if they enter the labor market . . . as a group they are always at the edge of the market, easily pushed out or pulled in." Furthermore, in Elizabeth Douvan's view, the endocrine functioning of females creates a kind of psychic marginality in that a self exists at the intersection of varying moods and psychic contents associated with variations in the endocrine level during the menstrual cycle.

On balance, however, college women possess "a good deal of negotiable coinage." Men, however, arrive at college . . . with a more highly developed autonomy and assertiveness than young women and a somewhat stronger commitment to academic values but also a much clearer vocational-instrumental attitude toward college." "Boys see college primarily as a method of entre to a work-life." In Elizabeth Douvan's opinion, many girls may see college as an instrument for insuring an appropriate marriage; on the other hand, pure academic goals are more often held by girls entering college than by boys. In addition, to many girls college is an opportunity for expanding psychological and social horizons.

As freshmen, men are more interested in and oriented to theoretical and political problems while women are more concerned with social and esthetic interests.

Elizabeth Douvan then addressed the question of how the structure of academic institutions calls out and uses the characteristics of both sexes. She noted that theorists differ on this point, some of them conceiving of college as the most masculine and some as the most feminine of all possible worlds. Those who see it as masculine (for example, David Gutmann) believe that values in the academic system focus on analysis and rationality rather than empathy, feeling, intuition. Those who see it as feminine (for example, King and Bidwell) regard the college faculty as representing a model of adult behavior which is heavily tinged with femininity since faculty have withdrawn from the world of real affairs, are isolated from trade and commerce, devote themselves to quiet scholarship and creativity, rely heavily on verbal as contrasted with material exchange for advancement, and are concerned with raising the next generation. Elizabeth Douvan



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stated that her own position was that "the academic side of college is sexually non-specific, (and) has equal drawing power and offers equal success opportunities to both men and women."

She pointed out that even student government, as traditionally operated, has a feminine orientation in that it is primarily concerned with "housekeeping" - that is, with the internal affairs of the university as these affect student life. On the other hand, membership on the staff of the student newspaper is, in her opinion, a clearly masculine activity. The newspaper staff is political in the usual sense of the term and oriented toward power. The role of committed intellectual scholar, however, draws equally on men and women. In selective academic programs (e.g., honors programs), both men and women seem to work effectively and find their work satisfying and the programs demonstrate holding power for both sexes.

In her study of students in selective programs, Elizabeth Douvan found that the programs appear to accommodate to both masculine and feminine modes of thought and need profiles. While men and women coming into the programs differ in all of the usual ways found in college populations and are still different at the end of four years, both groups show increased theoretical and esthetic interests. In her view, these programs provide "an organizing and focusing activity which is compelling and satisfying to both sex groups but does not demand of either group any large changes in sexual identity or sexual orientation." This seemed to her a reasonable outcome since "the life of the mind . . . can be analytical and intuitive, synthesizing and creative." All students can find intellectual styles and preoccupations that mesh with their personal integrations. In other words, she concluded, "the life of the mind can be thought of as the greatest coping mechanism in the world whatever one's gender. . . .It is useful to recognize that even the traits that are traditionally cultivated in girls in our society are highly relevant to and productive in the academic setting."

Discussion:
In the discussion which followed Elizabeth Douvan's presentation Kathleen Berger, Director of the Bedford Street School

in New York City, remarked that she seemed to hear the question "Why can't a woman be more like a man?" She suggested that it might be more appropriate to ask why can't men be more like women? Elizabeth Douvan noted that our culture needs to reorient goals, to emphasize humane values. At present there is much ambivalence in the way women have been raised as regards sex-typed values and aspirations. One result is that women are frequently unwilling to take risks. They like to keep all options available.

Bernice Sandler commented that it is necessary to differentiate between assertiveness and aggression. Elizabeth Douvan noted that there is not much data on aggression in women. There are problems with its definition. In her definition, aggression is unorganized, explosive, uncontained, destructive energy which leads to hostile or ascerbic behavior. It is a necessary emotion but we lack the kinds of socialization which would assist individual women to express these feelings effectively. For example, she noted, women who do well as trial lawyers usually do so because they are working for ideal, humane values rather than because trial activities represent aggression.

Kathryn Clarenbach, Specialist for Women's Education at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, remarked that stereotyping individual attributes as male and female is dangerous. She criticized Elizabeth Douvan's system of assigning and labeling qualities by sex. Joan Roberts of the University of Wisconsin at Madison remarked that tying together such concepts as passivity and then relating it to "creativity" is both illogical and sexist in interpretation, and contended that Douvan's paper represented simply another set of stereo-types. Elizabeth Scott, Chairman of the Department of Statistics at the University of California at Berkeley, noted that these stereo-types are constantly reflected in real life practices. For example, women lawyers are stereo-typed (as working for humane goals). There are prohibitions on certain courses for women: for example, junior and senior high school girls are usually not allowed to take mechanical drawing but must take cooking. Women are not generally encouraged to enter the physical sciences. She noted that it might be of interest to study sex differences in such practices in other countries, especially countries in which the status accorded to given fields of activity differed from that in ours.

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**PLANS FOR WIDENING WOMEN'S EDU
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Shirley Anderson, Co-Chairwoman of the Advisory Committee of the Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University, noted that women discriminate against women, often on the grounds of stereo-types about women - for example, too often women elected to public office do not help other women to rise in politics and are not interested in serving as role models for other women. Frances Davis, Chairwoman of the Chancellor's Advisory Committee on the Establishment of a Center for Women's Education at the University of California at Berkeley, commented that in her law school days shw was entirely unaware of sex discrimination in law school; her major problem was getting a job.

Rosalind Loring, Director of the Department of Daytime Programs and Special Projects of the University of California at Los Angeles Extension, suggested that women should learn to experience and express aggressiveness; that in a management development course for women, thumb wrestling had been used to demonstrate physical aggressiveness. Esther Zaret, Associate Professor of Education at Marquette University, remarked that there was a need to explore many crucial areas of emotion and identity, particularly the latter; she added that the identity crisis for women is an ongoing one - it is not fully resolved in adolescence.

PLANS FOR WIDENING WOMEN'S EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES (Action)

Elizabeth Duncan Koontz, Director of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, was the author of the next paper: "Plans for Widening Women's Educational Opportunities." (The snow storm which was to keep many conference participants from leaving Racine that evening, kept Elizabeth Koontz from getting there - she had to turn back at Detroit. Her paper was reviewed by Esther Westervelt, Chairperson for the conference.) In Elizabeth Koontz' paper the focus was again on practice rather than research; in her paper the emphasis was on efforts to enhance women's educational opportunities throughout the nation.

Elizabeth Koontz first reviewed some of the statistical evidence which reflects barriers restricting women's educational opportunities. She pointed out that, although women college students have increased in numbers from less than half a million in 1930 to three and one half million in 1969-70, as a proportion of all college students women have decreased during that period - from 43.7% in 1930 to 41.3% in 1969-70. In 1930 women received 39.9% of bachelor's and first professional degrees, 40.4% of masters degrees, and 15.4% of doctorates; in 1969-70 they received 41.6%, 39.8%, and 13.3% of these degrees, respectively. Furthermore, women tend to be heavily concentrated in college programs which prepare them for the traditional women's professions. In 1968-69, 39% were in teacher education, 22% in the humanities, and 15% in the social sciences, while only 4% were in the health professions and only 4% in the natural sciences. This represents a pattern very comparable to that which existed in 1955-56.

Elizabeth Koontz reviewed six types of plans for promoting educational opportunities for women: continuing education programs, open university and external degree programs, education for "non-traditional professions," career education, emerging occupations, and programs designed to stimulate attitudinal changes. She noted that legislation, administrative orders, and federal programs for scholarships and fellowships also contributed to equalizing women's educational opportunities, although not discussed in this paper.

Of the types of programs discussed, those for continuing education of women had the longest history, having originated in the late '50s and early '60s. These programs have spread slowly but steadily throughout the country (there are now about 450 of them); nevertheless, the idea is still new to many colleges and universities. The design and focus of such programs vary considerably from institution to institution and appear to depend on such factors as the interests and requests of adult women in the immediate area, the talent of interested faculty or community leader, and local labor market demands. Most of these programs are not yet regarded as standard educational offerings by the sponsoring institutions and therefore have to be self-supporting. Modifications in educational structures (e.g., part-time enrollment, flexible course hours, short-

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term courses, counseling services, part-time financial aid, limited residence requirements, removal of age restrictions, relaxation of credit transfer regulations, curricula geared to adult experience, credit by examination, refresher courses, and so on) introduced by such programs have stimulated many older women to return to higher education. Nevertheless, "a wide gap still exists between the latent educational interests and aspirations of mature women and the existence of sufficient educational programs which meet their needs."

Plans for "the open university" and external degree programs represent more radical revisions in the current educational structure. While these programs, even those now in operation, are still in the developmental stage, they are attempting fundamental changes in the educational system as it relates to instruction, examination, transfer of credits, and certification. These programs utilize T.V. and correspondence courses, video cassettes, apprenticeships, independent study, and may develop a system of national examinations. Some of the programs (like some programs in continuing education for women) now grant credit for prior experience through the College Level Examination Program of the College Entrance Examination Board or the College Proficiency Program of the New York State Education Department. The Commission on Non-Traditional Study of the College Entrance Examination Board and the Educational Testing Service has been reviewing opportunities for college-level learning outside the usual classroom and making recommendations. In general, the concept encompasses development of new curricula and teaching materials, the employment of a resident faculty for non-resident students, and supervision of a network of centers for counseling, tutoring, and testing.

Among projects of this type already in operation are the "University Without Walls" which has gained the cooperation of more than 20 colleges and universities throughout the country. Interestingly enough, this program, although designed primarily for adults, appears to have attracted primarily students of normal college age seeking more flexible approaches to earning a degree. Another program now in operation is New York's Empire State College which offers an external degree program with occasional on-campus study.

Efforts to attract women into education for "non-traditional professions" include a variety of approaches. Elizabeth Koontz mentioned a few of these: women's caucuses and committees in professional associations seek to increase the numbers of women preparing for their profession through abolishing such barriers as dual standards of admission and quota systems for the sexes and increasing scholarship and fellowship aid; the Professional Women's Caucus which is concerned with revising textbooks and educational materials to eliminate sexism, providing career incentives and guidance on a group and individual basis, and promoting new educational opportunities for vocational training; programs within educational institutions designed to encourage women to enter professions or business activities in which relatively few women are now engaged (e.g., the fellowship program at Radcliffe Institute for medical training on a full- or part-time basis, the shared residence plan in medical education at George Washington University Hospital and Columbia University Hospital; a master's degree in human genetics at Sarah Lawrence College; a business orientation program at Mary Baldwin College; short-term management training courses at several institutions).

Elizabeth Koontz pointed out that "Career Education," although it begins in elementary school, is an important new avenue to expanding women's participation in higher education. The long-range objective of this program is to encourage youth of both sexes to obtain formal job preparation; such preparation, once obtained, may raise aspirations for further education. The Office of Education is currently funding models for such programs in six public school districts in the United States. An interesting example of the career education approach is a proposal from the American Home Economics Association which, if funded, "would provide occupational education in home-related services based on spiral curricula with higher and higher levels of complexity." Thus a woman who initially trained to be a private or institutional housekeeper might, if she so desired, move up the educational career ladder to a Ph.D. in a highly specialized area of home economics, without losing any credit for former work. Another example is a model program now under way in Nevada, in the health occupations. In this program courses concerning the "world of work" in the fifth and sixth grades are followed by exploratory programs in health occupa school, then intensive vocational counselin study training for selected health occupa placement service at the termination of h tion, followed by further cooperative tr secondary level for those desiring it.

Strong efforts are also being made to inc women in apprenticeships; while typically grams require no more than a high schoo the acquisition of a vocational skill can le tional aspirations.

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In closing, Elizabeth Koontz reviewed a va to changing attitudes concerning wome education and employment, including th and women themselves as well as those counselors, employers, and union leaders. mentioned was a role model project in school in which, through one-to-one link women, girls are directly exposed to wor tional fields. Elizabeth Koontz particula contributions to attitude change made b there are now over 600 courses offered b and universities. Reports indicate that v having a major impact on women stude them to seek avenues for change in their s Coalition of Women Students represen approach; through it students from a cros and universities in ten southeastern state Columbia are engaged in developing pr women's advancement on their own camp

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Strong efforts are also being made to increase the number of women in apprenticeships; while typically the apprentice programs require no more than a high school degree, here again the acquisition of a vocational skill can lead to higher educational aspirations.

Active encouragement by both public and private sources should also be offered to women to enter new job fields, such as the field of ecology and new areas in the broad field of human services, or new careers in research and development like those now available under the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970. New occupational fields offer particularly good opportunities for women since, when needed skills are not available, sex discrimination is rarely a factor in employment.

In closing, Elizabeth Koontz reviewed a variety of approaches to changing attitudes concerning women's participation in education and employment, including the attitudes of girls and women themselves as well as those of parents, teachers, counselors, employers, and union leaders. Among the projects mentioned was a role model project in a Washington, D.C. school in which, through one-to-one linkages with employed women, girls are directly exposed to work in various occupational fields. Elizabeth Koontz particularly emphasized the contributions to attitude change made by women's studies; there are now over 600 courses offered by over 200 colleges and universities. Reports indicate that women's studies are having a major impact on women students and stimulating them to seek avenues for change in their status. The Southeast Coalition of Women Students represents another type of approach; through it students from a cross-section of colleges and universities in ten southeastern states and the District of Columbia are engaged in developing programs pertinent to women's advancement on their own campuses. Another some-

what comparable effort, with a heavy emphasis on vocational counseling, is the Career Planning and Counseling Program for Women in Southeast Iowa; a long-range goal of this project is development of an effective procedure for vocational guidance for women on a large scale, at relatively low cost. A Women's Bureau project is directed toward changing the attitudes of management and labor leaders toward women workers; meetings are held in each of the Bureau's administrative regions to discuss with such leaders the status of women as workers and the need for employer compliance with federal, state and local laws prohibiting sex discrimination. Within individual institutions women have formed task forces, some of which are officially recognized and some of which are *ad hoc*, to tackle the problem of attitudinal change on many fronts. Some, as at Stanford and Harvard where much attention has been given to graduate training in business administration, engage in active recruitment of women for "men's professions." Others examine institutional policies and practices to highlight the effect of sex role stereo-typing on practice as well as on textbooks and curriculum. Some of these task forces provide consciousness-raising sessions for teachers. Some task forces are operating in public school systems, including those in New York City, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Berkeley, California.

Elizabeth Koontz concluded by pointing out that many projects are still in the exploratory or demonstration stage, that many more efforts are needed, and that, above all, there is still need for major changes in views of women's roles and potentialities.

Discussions:
The discussion which followed Elizabeth Koontz' paper primarily concerned the special needs of special groups, the future of external degree programs, and the nature and potential of women's studies. One of the special groups which received considerable attention was disadvantaged women from the inner-city, especially black women. Suzanne Lipsky, Director of the Boston Study Group on Higher Education for Urban Women, cited the importance of developing writing skills in this group and of developing new mechanisms through which these women could get academic credit for non-academic experience. Abbie Davis pointed out that many black women who had little formal education had extensive experience as community workers. She note
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Some questions were raised concerning the potential and future directions of external degree programs. Gail Spangenberg, member of the staff of Ford Foundation, pointed out that her Foundation and others have been willing to make major investments in the development of these programs - investments which have been based on careful study of possi-

bilities. Rosalind Loring pointed out that the meaning of the term was not yet clear; for example, many types of credentialing at UCLA may lead to "external degrees." There appeared to be some consensus that the external degree will be attacked from various quarters for some time to come because it represents a radical departure from traditional structures and processes in higher education.

At the request of the Chairperson, Florence Howe, Professor of Humanities, State University of New York at Old Westbury, who is a leader in the field, described what she termed "female studies" programs. She pointed out that courses range over a wide variety of subject matters, from what may be considered straight consciousness-raising approaches to approaches oriented to high level research in a narrow field of specialization and that courses are given at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. She saw women's studies, as presently offered, as only at the beginning of what will be a long movement in higher education. She believes also that a new movement to develop courses for primary and secondary schools will grow rapidly in strength and implementation. She pointed out that, although no foundation money has been made available for women's studies, there are presently women's studies courses and programs.* In her opinion, special funding should not be needed for such programs; higher education should be willing to accept the economic burden and women can push universities to do so. She stated that a regular newsletter regarding types of courses, experience with courses, bibliographies, and the outcomes of research generated by such courses (most especially research carried out by undergraduates) is much needed. The Chairperson pointed out that research relevant to women's development and their education has been and is being carried on in many disciplines of the biological, behavioral and social sciences; partly for this reason, our knowledge of such research tends to be fragmentary. She urged serious efforts to establish a computerized information storage and retrieval system for such research in order that both those presently in the field and newcomers to it could rapidly ascertain the status of research in areas of interest to them. She pointed out that multi-disciplinary com-

*Florence Howe reported as of January, 1973 that there are approximately 1500 courses and nearly 60 programs in women's studies.

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as of January, 1973 that there are approximately 1500 grams in women's studies.

puterized research indices of this type are already in operation in other fields. In answer to a question regarding where information could be obtained concerning the types of women's studies courses now offered, she stated that Know, Inc., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, provides an annual list of such courses as well as lists of publications pertinent to the field.

WHITE WORKING CLASS WOMEN: EDUCATION AS A DILEMMA (Research)

The paper prepared by John Gagnon shifted the perspective of the discussions back to that of the research scholar. John Gagnon's topic was "White Working Class Women: Education as a Dilemma." John Gagnon was unexpectedly prevented from attending the conference by the sudden illness of one of his children; in his absence his paper was reviewed by Selma Ehrenfeld, Director of Communications for the National Project of Ethnic America of the American Jewish Committee.

John Gagnon opened his paper by noting that, since the Second World War, various disadvantaged sectors of the population have organized and demanded new advantages. These demands have resulted in what he described as "the conventional knee-jerk response of social programming" and some reordering of priorities in both the private and public sectors to meet what were *believed* to be the needs of these groups. He pointed out that, however, the "needs" were usually defined by leadership groups or external planners rather than by those who would actually be consumers of the new programs and services. Efforts to make the latter effective have led to the realization that the needs of each group are multiple and the group memberships do not agree about priorities. This has led to an increased suspicion of the degree to which spokespeople are representative of the interests of the groups for which they allege to speak and whether the programming they propose is in fact that which is needed. Clearly the delivery of service and programs can "no longer be carried out in the spirit WASP bounty"; no one group has the right to insist that other groups adopt its values and mores. This means that program planners have to learn not only what people need but how to determine what those needs are; to achieve these ends, they must understand the structure and character of the lives of the groups which they would serve, what their satisfactions are, what is the nature of the social order into which education will be introduced, and what are the long-range goals of this education, most particularly with respect to its tendency to promote or retard change.

The rising visibility of the demands of various disadvantaged groups and of programs developed in response to these demands has led to a feeling on the part of white working-class people that their interests are being ignored. Furthermore, movements to promote the interests of the white working-class, for example those grounded in considerations of ethnic identity, have been typically carried on in male dominated institutions (e.g., trade unions). The white working-class woman has not only been marginal to the concerns of ethnic movements but has also been given minimal attention by the women's movement-at-large. In John Gagnon's opinion, "those women who have been most instrumental in creating the public character of woman's liberation are those who have shown the most sympathy for poor and minority group v
for the relatively conservative and retrogre

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The fact is that we still know relatively little about the needs of the white working-class woman or the characteristics of her life. There are a number of reasons for our lack of knowledge. One is that there is now considerable regional variation in styles of working-class life. Ethnic groups are no longer concentrated in the metropolitan areas of the northeast; they are dispersed throughout the nation, including the southeastern section. Dispersal has been accompanied by some attrition of ethnic differences since many working-class people now reside in working-class suburbs comprised of representatives of a variety of ethnic groups. Age is another factor which must be considered in assessing needs. John Gagnon pointed out that, "the rapidity of social change in American life since the turn of the century has been such that there now exist cohorts of persons of various ages whose life cycles have been played out in front of historical backdrops that are fundamentally different. This means that the continuity of life is strained not only across generations, but across cohorts closer in age." The working-class woman of 50 bears the stamp of her experiences during the years of the Depression of the 30s, while the working-class woman of 20 has had no experience with dire poverty and disaster - she accepts without reservation middle-class standards for consumption. Age differences must be taken into account in estimating program needs and program viability. Another factor which is of considerable importance is the type of community in which the working-class woman lives. As ethnic communities have been less and less confined within geographical boundaries, the role of men as agents for the organization of working-class community life has become less significant. Working-class men tend to exercise leadership functions within bureaucratic structures (e.g., unions and political organizations). Thus the structure of community depends much more heavily on women's patterns of visiting - patterns which vary greatly from areas of urban settlement to the new suburbs. The inter-action patterns of women are also defined by school districts, both public and parochial, and by locations of shopping centers. The values and goals of working-class women may vary sharply from community to community and be only loosely associated with ethnic

values. Means and the modes of approach by educational planners to these working-class women must be designed to fit varying types of communities since "the kind of community will define the nature of already existing infrastructures of organizations, the degree of attachment to those organizations, and the accessibility of local community members to kinds of new resources."

A most important factor associated with program needs is the significance of family life. John Gagnon pointed out that the appearance of family stability among working-class people is somewhat illusory, in part because, traditionally, wives and children of broken families return to the wife's parental home. In the new suburbs this pattern can not be easily maintained. There are, however, substantial levels of permanence in family life styles, most especially those associated with definitions of male and female roles as husband and wife, father and mother, and sons and daughters; these definitions still tend to be conventional and conservative. In this respect, John Gagnon suggested that the working-class community may be insulated from change in the larger society; despite regional differences in patterns of family conservatism, national patterns of the growing instability of marriage are not reflected among most working-class groups. Because the family is a more pivotal institution in the working-class than in the middle class, the delivery of educational services to working-class women must operate through an assumption of the family's intact and significant status. Modes of service designed for families believed to be socially disorganized are inappropriate for working-class women.

Despite the centrality of the role of wife for the working-class woman, these women actually have access to a less class-differentiated image of themselves than do working-class men because they have much more extensive exposure to television through which they become targets of advertising and other programs that focus on their "*womanness* rather than on their *classness*." Younger women are probably particularly affected by such exposure. It is likely that the aspects of middle-class marriage which appeal to the working-class woman are those concerned with cooperation, joint decision making and changes in sexual standards of pleasure within marriage, rather than those concerned with marked
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The pursuit of education by the working-class girl is complicated by two major tendencies: first, the preeminence of marriage in her own life expectations and those of her parents for her, which causes her to tend to marry young (frequently immediately after high school) and to have children at an early age; and, second, by the secondary role which employment plays in her life - employment being regarded mainly as a stop-gap between school and marriage or as a sporadic source of needed extra income after marriage. Whether the meaning of work and the significance of occupational experience is changing among working-class women is a question which we can not answer on the basis of available evidence. We know that consumption is a major goal of work for both males and females; we know far less about other satisfactions associated with it, particularly for females. Thus for many working-class girls the idea of higher education may be quite remote. Although working-class girls do better than working-class boys in academic performance in high school, both the schools and parents tend to keep the girls' aspirations low. Neither emphasize employment as a long-term concern for women. Thus most of these young women move into dead-end jobs which terminate with marriage or first pregnancy; some, however, now attend community colleges or urban four-year colleges. The community colleges, for these young women, largely serve the same purposes as the high school - those of vocational education. Thus the community college may not increase the educational mobility of these young women. Very probably more consideration should be given to revisions in the timing, content and significance of higher education in the lives of working-class women. More thought should be given to education for them which begins when they are in their middle 30s after their last child has entered school. With regard to content, we have to consider where opportunities for employment will be found, whether the employment of women in such areas will displace men (a threatening idea to working-class people), and whether such employment will undermine the structure of the

family. The significance of the program must be such as not to suggest that these women will be offered opportunities in higher education which are not available to their men.

John Gagnon concluded by emphasizing that we have at present very little information on which to develop a nation-wide program of higher education for working-class women. "The dilemma for the social actionist is that (he has) to act relatively quickly since actions that have already been taken for the education of women from minority groups have become the object of attention of working-class groups who argue that once again they are being leap-frogged or left out. At the same time the mandate from the working class, at least that ethnic portion that has been most visible and assumed positions of leadership, has been for an educational process and content that slows the rate of change and celebrates the virtues of stability. The educational planner must . . . operate in the gap between the needs for change at the national level and the demand for cultural and social stability from local constituencies." The need for research is urgent since, "action without knowledge is far more likely to hurt the clients than those who would do well by doing good."

Discussion:
In the discussion which followed John Gagnon's paper, there were, as in the discussion which followed Elizabeth Douvan's paper, objections to the researcher's method of placing people in categories. A number of participants insisted that people had to be considered as individuals, not as statistics in categories. It was pointed out by others, however, that in order to develop programs for clearly identifiable groups in the population some categories have to be developed if needed research is to be carried out.

Other parts of the discussion focused on special needs of working-class women which participants in the conference had, through their own work, already identified. Elizabeth Cless, Director of Special Academic Programs, Office for Continuing Education, The Claremont Colleges, described work with these women at times of crisis; for example, when they have been widowed. The group, she felt, tends to seek out educators only at crisis points and to tend to disappear after placement in junior colleges or other educational insti
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The discussion concluded with a criticism by Florence Howe of John Gagnon's approach. She suggested that he did not deal with the whole question, that he did not appear to have listened to people in terms of where they are. In her view, these women are less competitive and egocentric than middle-class women but have strong collective feelings as ethnic groups. Their goals are different from those usually emphasized by sociologists and political planners. She felt, however, that in their goals for upward mobility they differed in no marked way from middle-class women. Esther Westervelt remarked that John Gagnon had in fact advanced a strong plea for listening more carefully to these people. He had particularly warned against accepting prepackaged goals for them, especially goals developed by professional social planners. She added that in her experience with such women as Director of the New York State Guidance Center for Women in Rockland County she had found them markedly different from middle-class women in their basic approach to formulating goals for education or employment. Typically, the middle-class woman desired to "become someone or something" (she was not always sure what); the working-

class woman, on the other hand, raised a different kind of question - she asked not "What can I become?" but "What is going to happen to me?" Her horizons appeared to be constricted by limited prior education and experience and by traditional definitions of the roles of wife and mother. The latter appeared to limit her goals for upward mobility even when her need for income from employment was intense and likely to be of long duration.

Concluding Discussion:
The conference deliberations concluded with an open discussion in which a number of points were raised.

Helen Astin, Director of Research, University Research Corporation, Washington, D.C., and Kenneth Wilson, Director, College Research Center, Educational Testing Service, reported on recent research findings. Helen Astin, with Alan Bayer, Associate Director, Office of Research, American Council on Education, reported that a study on sex discrimination in academe which they had recently completed indicated that even when many variables were controlled, sex discrimination was still apparent. Helen Astin also reported on some research now in process - a longitudinal study covering ten years which will examine patterns of continuity and discontinuity in women's careers. Kenneth Wilson mentioned a study of barriers to the post-secondary education of women which is now being carried on under a grant from HEW by the Educational Testing Service. He also noted that recent surveys of entering students conducted by the College Research Center showed a marked change from 1964 to 1970 in the level of career aspirations (a sharp rise in the proportion of respondents expecting to work for a considerable period of adulthood; and a sharp decline in the modal number of children desired.)

Discussion then centered on needed new research. Rosalind Loring suggested that we need more research on how to change men's attitudes towards women's status. Gene Boyer of the National Council of Women pointed out that we need more research relevant to the delivery of services since programs, both in industry and continuing education, do not always reach the target populations. Nancy Spear, Assistant to the Vice President for Student Affairs, Central Michigan University, stated that much more careful research o
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personality development in girls.

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Firor Scott noted that two major questions
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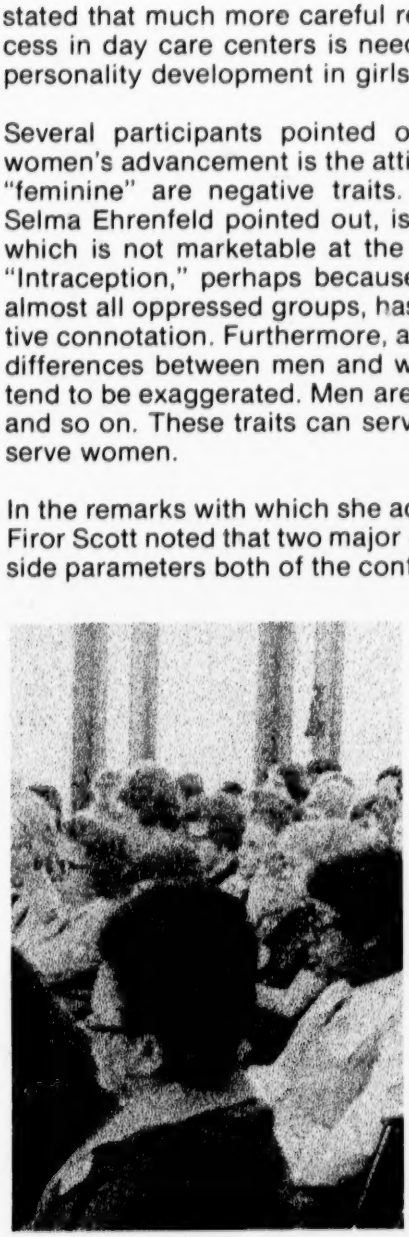

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Several participants pointed out that a major obstacle to women's advancement is the attitude that traits which we label "feminine" are negative traits. "Passivity," for example, as Selma Ehrenfeld pointed out, is generally regarded as a trait which is not marketable at the higher levels of employment. "Intraception," perhaps because it characterizes members of almost all oppressed groups, has a negative rather than a positive connotation. Furthermore, as Bernice Sandler pointed out, differences between men and women on some of these traits tend to be exaggerated. Men are also "passive," "intraceptive," and so on. These traits can serve men well and they can also serve women.

In the remarks with which she adjourned the conference, Anne Firor Scott noted that two major questions represented the outside parameters both of the conference and of future efforts in

women's higher education: the first question is what *is* work? The second, what purposes does "achievement" serve?

Conference Evaluation

The conference planners were, of course, eager to know to what extent the conference met the expectations of the conference participants and the objectives which the planners had set for the conference. At the conference itself, Anne Firor Scott circulated an informal questionnaire among the participants asking why each came to the conference and asking each to give his or her age. Following the conference Esther Westervelt and Joseph Katz, Executive Co-Directors of the National Coalition for Research on Women's Education and Development, mailed to all participants an evaluation questionnaire.

WHO CAME TO THE CONFERENCE AND WHY?

Responses to the informal questionnaire circulated at the conference by Anne Firor Scott revealed that the age range of participants was from under 25 to over 70 years of age. The majority of participants were between 30 and 55 years of age. Almost equal proportions were under 30 and over 55. In her report on these findings, Anne Firor Scott noted that this distribution was "as dramatic an illustration as one could wish of the fundamental ways the new feminism differs from that of the '30s, '40s, and '50s and may be similar to that of the years between 1910 and 1920 when, during the last push for women's suffrage, young militants were very much a part of the picture,"

Reasons for attending the conference were highly varied. One participant, age 22, said "I came with the hope that education will change and make it easier for those behind me to be women *and* successes. To remove obstacles, frustrations, to provide new opportunities and to expose women to old ones." A number of young women stressed need for action and need for help in knowing what action to take. One, age 26, expressed her felt need for *research*. Some young women came for personal reasons; they were thinking about their own lives and hoped for guidance. Others stressed a need to exchange ideas with other people of like interests. Others wanted simply information about what is going on.

Researchers attending the conference h
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Several wanted specific documentation
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Other participants were interested in s
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WAS THE CONFERENCE USEFUL TO

The evaluation questionnaire which was
conference contained eight open-ended
responses were received, bringing the p

ducation: the first question is what *is* work? purposes does "achievement" serve?

ation

planners were, of course, eager to know to onference met the expectations of the con- ts and the objectives which the planners had nce. At the conference itself, Anne Firor Scott ormal questionnaire among the participants came to the conference and asking each to . Following the conference Esther Westervelt Executive Co-Directors of the National Coali- on Women's Education and Development, cipants an evaluation questionnaire.

CAME TO THE CONFERENCE AND WHY?

nformal questionnaire circulated at the con- Firor Scott revealed that the age range of rom under 25 to over 70 years of age. The pants were between 30 and 55 years of age. portions were under 30 and over 55. In her ndings, Anne Firor Scott noted that this dis- dramatic an illustration as one could wish of ways the new feminism differs from that of '50s and may be similar to that of the years 1920 when, during the last push for women's ilitants were very much a part of the picture,"

ding the conference were highly varied. One 2, said "I came with the hope that education make it easier for those behind me to be sses. To remove obstacles, frustrations, to rtunities and to expose women to old ones." g women stressed need for action and need g what action to take. One, age 26, expressed *esearch*. Some young women came for per- ey were thinking about their own lives and e. Others stressed a need to exchange ideas of like interests. Others wanted simply infor- t is going on.

Researchers attending the conference hoped to stimulate their own thinking and several spoke of the need for fresh ideas. Several wanted specific documentation about discrimination in employment. One wanted to explore future possibilities for women in engineering technology and engineering in general.

Other participants were interested in specific types of action programs. Several of these were specifically concerned with affirmative action committees and were seeking for more know-how about their functioning and effectiveness. Others sought guidance in the development of university services for women seeking further education. One wanted ideas as to what the public media might to do further women's higher education.

One participant sought information about the educational needs of disadvantaged women in general, while another also interested in this group was specifically concerned with inner-city women. One was particularly interested in the content of curriculum for undergraduate women. Yet another felt a need to consider the implications of major issues in women's education for interinstitutional planning and metropolitan educational planning. Several were interested in the development of programs through which women could work with men in the interest of women's education. One felt a need for programs designed to move qualified academic women into administrative posts at the highest levels. One was especially interested in new alternatives to present educational structures.

Ann Firor Scott noted that the responses revealed a telling recurrence of the words "specific," "concrete," and "new." There appeared to be a general feeling that *problems* have been identified over and over; the question now is where do we go from here, what are concrete next steps, where are the new ideas? And above all, what are some *specific* answers to these questions.

WAS THE CONFERENCE USEFUL TO PARTICIPANTS?

The evaluation questionnaire which was sent out following the conference contained eight open-ended questions. A total of 38 responses were received, bringing the proportion of returns to

almost 30% - a relatively high percentage of return for this type of questionnaire. Joseph Katz prepared the following summary of the responses.

Question #1 - What was your reaction to the prepared papers? (Papers for the conference were mailed to participants in advance of the conference and were not read there, merely summarized.)

Reaction to the prepared papers ranged from "excellent" to "poor." Several people complained that some of the papers contained much that was already familiar. Interestingly, every paper received a range of ratings from "excellent" to "poor." Obviously different people reacted differently to identical papers. Many people commented that having the papers available in advance was very desirable and helpful.

Question #2 - How helpful or informative did you find the discussions and contributions from the floor? Many people thought that the discussion from the floor was helpful and stimulating. Some, however, thought tha floor were too diffuse and that the range too wide.

Question #3 - Often much work gets d through informal contacts. Was this the so, what kind of benefit(s) did you rece ported that they made informal contacts different people during the conference, es they had never met before, and that the for the exchange of information and, in s lishing new collaborative relationships.

(Note: Questions #4 and #5 were addres conference which had not been anticipat planners. Due to the fact that a number considerable distances, a rather large night at the Holiday Inn. Because of Mc clement weather, a number of particip leave Racine on Monday evening and sp Holiday Inn.)

Question #4 - If you spent Sunday eveni find your evening at the Holiday Inn i (As you perhaps know, we had not prov Sunday evening gathering in our original expect it. What might we have done t more worthwhile?)

Question #5 - If you were among those in Monday night at the Holiday Inn, did interesting or helpful? How might we ha Many people reported that they enjoye Sunday and Monday nights. Many felt tha provide for such informal opportunities cussion. Some, however, thought that structure should have been imposed upon to facilitate the coming together of inc particular interests. A few people repo themselves somewhat isolated or were t in the evenings' events.

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ributions from the floor?** Many people
scussion from the floor was helpful and stimulating. Some, however, thought that comments from the floor were too diffuse and that the range of topics covered was too wide.

Question #3 - Often much work gets done at a conference through informal contacts. Was this the case here for you? If so, what kind of benefit(s) did you receive? Many people reported that they made informal contacts through talking with different people during the conference, especially people whom they had never met before, and that these were helpful both for the exchange of information and, in some cases, for establishing new collaborative relationships.

(Note: Questions #4 and #5 were addressed to aspects of the conference which had not been anticipated by the conference planners. Due to the fact that a number of people came from considerable distances, a rather large group spent Sunday night at the Holiday Inn. Because of Monday's extremely inclement weather, a number of participants were unable to leave Racine on Monday evening and spent that night at the Holiday Inn.)

Question #4 - If you spent Sunday evening in Racine, did you find your evening at the Holiday Inn interesting or helpful? (As you perhaps know, we had not provided for such a large Sunday evening gathering in our original plans, as we did not expect it. What might we have done to make the evening more worthwhile?)

Question #5 - If you were among those who were weathered in Monday night at the Holiday Inn, did you find that evening interesting or helpful? How might we have made it more so? Many people reported that they enjoyed meeting people on Sunday and Monday nights. Many felt that conferences should provide for such informal opportunities for meeting and discussion. Some, however, thought that more organizational structure should have been imposed upon the evenings in order to facilitate the coming together of individuals who shared particular interests. A few people reported that they found themselves somewhat isolated or were too tired to participate in the evenings' events.

Question #6 - As a result of the conference, have you done anything in your institution by way of reporting or otherwise? Many people stated that they had reported the events of the conference to their administrators, colleagues, or women's organizations on campuses or elsewhere. A few reported that discussion with their colleagues and others regarding the conference had led to plans for organizing groups concerned with one or another aspect of women's higher education within their localities or regions.

(Note: Questions #7 and #8 were addressed not to the conference itself but to ways in which the National Coalition for Research on Women's Education and Development might make its most useful contribution to enhancing opportunities for women in higher education,)

Question #7 - Have you suggestions about ways in which the Coalition could be useful to your institution or program?

Question #8 - To what other efforts should the Coalition give high priority? Inevitably, the suggestions for the Coalition's contributions to individual institutions and associations were wide-ranging and frequently addressed to specific local needs. More general recommendations stressed the necessity for the Coalition to facilitate communications among various groups and programs. The content of such communications should include, respondents felt, sharing information concerning educational programs, opportunities for women in higher education institutions, new employment opportunities for women, successful actions and procedures within institutions and outside them which aimed at improving the situation of women in colleges and universities. A number favored the use of such written means of communication as quarterly reports or newsletters. Others recommended workshops, particularly those focused on specific topics. Others recommended regional conferences, also geared to specific topics. A fair proportion expressed a desire for the Coalition to encourage research and to find the resources with which it could help provide financial support for such research.

The conference planners were pleasantly surprised at the response to the evaluation questionnaires. While the response rate was low, representing only a minorit
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The conference planners realize, howeve
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only by action within individual institution
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as this one can stimulate thinking and enc
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can develop guidelines for modifications
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burden for effecting the desired changes
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anners were pleasantly surprised at the luation questionnaires. While the response rate was low, representing only a minority of participants, and while it is possible that those whose reactions were more negative were reluctant to respond, the care taken by those who did respond to answer questions thoughtfully and in detail suggested that the conference had indeed stimulated careful consideration of some of the matters to which it was addressed. Particularly impressive was the high proportion of respondents who had shared information about the conference with administrators, colleagues or women's organizations. The conference planners had recognized from the outset that the conference program covered a great deal of territory; they had hoped that the somewhat broad and diffuse approach would (1) stimulate greater concern with planned interaction between practice and research; and (2) lend at least mild support to those engaged or planning to engage in various specific types of enterprises. The evaluation returns suggest that the conference may have achieved these goals.

The conference planners realize, however, that real changes in women's opportunities for higher education can be achieved only by action within individual institutions or among regional associations of institutions. Broadly-focused conferences such as this one can stimulate thinking and encourage new planning; conferences and workshops with a narrow and specific focus can develop guidelines for modifications of existing programs and models for experiments with new programs. But the major burden for effecting the desired changes will continue to rest with the staffs of higher educational institutions and associations.

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NATIONAL COALITION FOR RESEARCH ON WOMEN'S EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT.

The National Coalition for Research on Women's Education and Development is a membership corporation comprised of colleges, universities, and educational agencies. It was organized to provide a vehicle through which colleges and universities may coordinate their resources to develop educational programs and practices more appropriate to the needs of contemporary women than many which now exist.

The stated purposes of the Coalition are

- To provide constant and full communication among its membership on research and program experimentation pertinent to women's education and to relay information to a broader public.
- To collect available research findings from the behavioral and biological sciences and from program experimentation and evaluation concerning the effect of women's education on women's development.
- To generate needed new research in the behavioral and biological sciences and in program experimentation and evaluation by member institutions, through contracts with qualified agencies and individuals, and by the Coalition staff.
- To foster continuing interaction between educational practice and research in the areas of its concerns.

The Coalition was incorporated in April, 1971, after more than two years of planning. Both the planning and the initial stage of its development were partially supported by grants from The Johnson Foundation.

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Samuel A. Kendrick, Director of Resear
College Entrance Examination Board

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Jane Berry, Assistant Dean for Continui
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The administrative headquarters of the
Claremont Colleges, 160 Harper Hall
Claremont, California 91711

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The administrative headquarters of the Coalition are at The Claremont Colleges, 160 Harper Hall, 10th and College, Claremont, California 91711

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Additional copies of this report may be obtained from The Johnson Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin 53401 or The National Coalition for Research on Women's Education and Development, The Claremont Colleges, 160 Harper Hall, 10th and College, Claremont, California 91711.

Sketches by Alan Lane Gass
Published June 1973

WINGSPREAD
THE CONFERENCE PLACE

The building Frank Lloyd Wright called Wingspread, situated on a rolling prairie site just north of Racine, Wisconsin, was designed in 1938 as a residence for the Johnson family. In 1960, through the gift of Mr. and Mrs. H. F. Johnson, it became the headquarters of The Johnson Foundation and began its career as an educational conference center.

In the years since, it has been the setting for many conferences and meetings dealing with subjects of regional, national, and international interest. It is the hope of the Foundation's trustees that Wingspread will take its place increasingly as a national institution devoted to the free exchange of ideas among peoples.

The rolling expanse of the Midwestern prairies was considered a natural setting for Wingspread. In the limitless earth the architect envisioned a freedom and movement. The name Wingspread was an expression of the nature of the house, reflecting aspiration through spread wings — a symbol of soaring inspiration.